

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KHARTO 01763 01 OF 02 241826Z
ACTION IO-13

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/042 W

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P 241704Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4473

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 1763

FROM MAYNES FOR BAKER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PROG, PFOR, APER
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY; MESSAGES FROM THE ACTING
SECRETARY TO AMBASSADORS AND THE DEPARTMENT

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT I WOULD SUGGEST REGARDING THE
MESSAGE ON MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY TO THE FIELD:

1. THE EXPANDED MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS EFFORT BEGUN
JUST OVER A YEAR AGO HAS ALREADY HAD SIGNIFICANT
SUCCESS.
THE PROGRAM DESERVES A LARGE SHARE OF THE CREDIT FOR THE
ABSENCE OF THE KOREA AND PUERTO RICO ISSUES FROM
LAST YEAR'S UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IT ALSO CONTRI-
BUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE SUCCESS OF SOME OF OUR
POSITIONS REGARDING UNESCO AND THE UNITED NATIONS
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (UNDP). THE SECRETARY AND I
KNOW THAT YOUR EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY AND CLOSE
COLLABORATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT WERE
A MAJOR REASON FOR THIS ACHIEVEMENT. WE WANT TO
ASK NOW FOR YOUR CONTINUED PERSONAL ATTENTION AND
SUPPORT AS WE MAINTAIN AND EXPAND THE MULTILATERAL
AFFAIRS EFFORT.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KHARTO 01763 01 OF 02 241826Z

2. THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE UNITED NATIONS
HAS PUBLICLY CONFIRMED THE HIGH PRIORITY WE GIVE TO
AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL MEETINGS AND
ORGANIZATIONS. WE HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE
REPORTING FROM MANY POSTS THAT THEIR COUNTRIES
GIVE A SIMILARLY HIGH PRIORITY TO MULTILATERAL
DIPLOMACY IN THEIR OWN CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

INDEED IN SOME OF THE SMALLER COUNTRIES, THE UN IS THEIR MAIN VEHICLE FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM; OFTEN THE PRIMARY US INTEREST IN THESE COUNTRIES IS THEIR VOTE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. WE, IN TURN, CAN EXPECT THAT A GROWING NUMBER OF OUR OWN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES WILL BE PURSUED MULTILATERALLY. THIS WILL REQUIRE THAT WE CARRY FORWARD AND STRENGTHEN THE TEAMWORK ALREADY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT AND POSTS AND BUILD ON THE EFFECTIVE AND POSITIVE RELATIONS ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS WHICH MANY MISSIONS HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED.

3. THOSE POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH FORMED THE BASIS OF OUR 1975-76 PROGRAM REMAIN OF CONCERN BUT AT THIS POINT THEY SEEM LESS LIKELY TO BE AS ACTIVE FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS YEAR THAN THEY WERE LAST YEAR. MEANWHILE, THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING EMPHASIS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES, AN EMPHASIS WHICH PARALLELS CONCERNS IN OUR OWN GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES. WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THE FOLLOWING AS ADDITIONAL KEY ISSUES OF MULTILATERAL IMPORTANCE: --NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF THIS DIALOGUE (COMMODITIES, DEBT RESCHEDULING, RESOURCE AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS) WILL COME UP IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS THE REST OF THIS YEAR (CIEC, POSSIBLE RESUMED 31ST UNGA; SUMMER ECOSOC, RESUMED UNCTAD COMMODITIES MEETING), AND THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KHARTO 01763 01 OF 02 241826Z

32ND UNGA WILL UNDOUBTEDLY PRESENT A FULL SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS FOR 1978.

--HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE OUTLINES OF A SERIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES IN SPEECHES BY THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY AND ANDY YOUNG. WE HAVE MADE SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS-HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, ADDITIONAL MEETING OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, TRANSFER OF THE VENUE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FROM GENEVA TO NEW YORK-AND HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED TO CONSIDER ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AS WELL AS TRADITIONAL POLITICAL RIGHTS. CONSISTENT WITH OUR INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS GENERALLY, WE HAVE ALSO ANNOUNCED A NEW POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND HAVE MADE CLEAR OUR SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE THROUGHOUT THAT PART OF THE CONTINENT. THESE INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BOTH WITH SOME MISGIVINGS AND SUSPICION IN SOME QUARTERS AND WITH INTEREST AND SUPPORT IN OTHERS. THE PROCESS OF FURTHERING THESE INITIATIVES MULTILATERALLY WILL

REQUIRE A LENGTHY COORDINATED EFFORT.

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PAGE 01 KHARTO 01763 02 OF 02 241837Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KHARTOUM 1763

FROM MAYNES FOR BAKER

--UN BUDGET CONTROL. IT IS CLEAR THAT UN BUDGETS
REQUIRE MORE SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS AND CONTROL THAN
THEY HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR. WE FACE THE GROWING
ALARM OF THE US PUBLIC, AND PARTICULARLY OF
CONGRESSIONAL GROUPS AT REGULAR LARGE BUDGET INCREASES.
WE MADE A SMALL BEGINNING AT THE SPRING MEETING OF THE
GENEVA GROUP, AND THE MAJOR WESTERN DONORS ARE AT LEAST
SYMPATHETIC TO OUR APPROACH WHICH INVOLVES THE
CONCEPT OF A BUDGET PAUSE FOR CONSOLIDATION
IN 1980-81 WITH AN ORGANIZED EFFORT TO IDENTIFY
WASTEFUL PROGRAMS AND RE-DIRECT THE MONEY INTO
HIGHER PRIORITY AREAS. A SUSTAINED EFFORT WILL BE
NECESSARY IF THE INERTIA AND RESISTANCE OF VESTED INTERESTS
ARE TO BE OVERCOME.

--UN STRUCTURAL ISSUES. EVERYONE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT
THE UN SYSTEM IS IN DESPARATE NEED OF CONSOLIDATION
AND RESTRUCTING. FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THIS AREA
IS BEGINNING TO UNDERMINE US CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR
STRONG US PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.
HERE OUR OBJECTIVES AND THOSE OF THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES SEEM IN CONFLICT. WE WANT MANAGERIAL
REFORMS WHICH DO NOT DISTURB THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE
OF POWER. THEY WANT REFORMS WHICH INCREASE THEIR CONTROL
OVER THE SYSTEM. WE NEED TO FIND SOME MIDDLE GROUND AND
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KHARTO 01763 02 OF 02 241837Z

SELL OUR PROPOSALS TO THE THIRD WORLD.

--UN SPECIALIZED AGENCY ISSUES. POLITICIZING OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES IN A MANNER WHICH DAMAGES THE AGENCY'S WORK, AND CALLS INTO QUESTION CONTINUED US PARTICIPATION IS A LIMITED, BUT WORRISOME PHENOMENON. WE HAVE FACED IT MOST ACUTELY IN THE ILO AND UNESCO WHOSE LEGITIMATE WORK INEVITABLY RAISES DIFFICULT POLITICAL ISSUES. OUR CHIEF CONCERN IS THAT AN AGENCY'S OWN RULES OF PROCEDURE NOT BE VIOLATED, OR ITS CONSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES DISTORTED, AND THAT THE WORK OF THE TECHNICAL AGENCIES NOT BE DISRUPTED BY CONTENTIOUS POLITICAL ISSUES. WE HAVE FOUND AN INCREASING NUMBER OF STATES AGREE WITH US. WE BELIEVE A MULTILATERAL APPROACH OFFERS A PROMISING WAY OF APPROACHING THIS PROBLEM.

4. WE HAVE REQUESTED THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES TO REVIEW AND STRENGTHEN THEIR BUREAU'S SUPPORT FOR OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. IN PARTICULAR, WE HAVE ASKED IO TO ENSURE THROUGH ITS COORDINATION IN THE DEPARTMENT THAT YOU HAVE THE NECESSARY ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT AS WE CALL UPON YOU TO ADDRESS ADDITIONAL ISSUES AND MORE MEETINGS WITH YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS. SIMILARLY, WE ASK THAT YOU REVIEW YOUR OWN ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR HANDLING AND REPORTING OF MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS.

5. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT WE CAN EXPECT YOU TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN YOUR REPRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS ONLY WHEN YOU ARE GIVEN ADEQUATE LEAD TIME AND THE FULL BACKGROUND AS WELL AS THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR POSITIONS. WE HAVE CALLED THIS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES AND HAVE ASKED IO TO ENSURE THAT THIS OCCURS IN EVERY POSSIBLE CASE.

6. GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY TO
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PAGE 03 KHARTO 01763 02 OF 02 241837Z

OUR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES, I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR PERSONAL COMMENTS ON THE PRIORITIES OUTLINED IN THIS MESSAGE. GIVEN THESE GOALS, WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION WOULD YOU REQUIRE TO MAKE EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATIONS, WHAT OFFICIALS WOULD YOU LOBBY, WHAT BACKSTOPPING FROM WASHINGTON WOULD YOU NEED? IN PARTICULAR, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK FOR YOUR VIEWS ON THE OPPORTUNITIES YOU SEE FOR OUR MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS ON MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS IN THE MONTHS TO COME AND TO YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A PLAN OF

ACTION REGARDING THE ISSUES WE HAVE IDENTIFIED.

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